"The real explanation of the striking difference in birth and death rates is that the Japanese and the Chinese on the island form two separate groups, the living conditions and customs of which are completely different. But the figures reveal more than this. The birth rate of the Japanese in Taiwan is only slightly below that of the Japanese in Japan Proper, while the death rate of the Japanese in Japan is 17.0 (1937) and in Taiwan only 9.6 To some degree this may be explained by the fact that there are a smaller number of aged Japanese on the island, but this alone is not sufficient. It is well known that in the same population different social classes have different death rates. The social composition of the Japanese [31] on the island is such that they are better off than the Japanese in Japan, to say nothing of the Chinese in Taiwan, whose death rate is more than double that of the Japanese. The Japanese on the island live under better sanitary conditions, are better fed, have better medical treatment and more leisure than the masses of the Chinese. This does not mean, of course, that the death rate of the Chinese is stable: it is falling, and this fall, typical of all colonial countries similarly situated, is probably due to improved methods of combatting epidemic diseases.

Death Rates In Some Tropical Colonies
(per thousand)

	1911-13	1921-25	1926-30	1931-35	1937
Taiwan	...	24.0	22.0	20.6	19.3
Palestine	...	23.7	24.3	21.0	15.0 (1938)
Philippines	19.1	18.9	19.7	18.5	18.8
Ceylon	31.8	27.8	25.1	24.7	21.7
Straits Settlements	40.0	28.9	30.7	24.7	21.3

As regards mortality, Taiwan is in about the same position as other colonies, a fact which suggests that living conditions are comparable to those in any other colony named above."

4:Grajdanzev--32-34 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-5
116, 162, 171, 463, 563

"Even in advanced countries occupational statistics are not precise, and in the colonies they are far less reliable. Nevertheless, if one wants to determine only the general characteristics of the population, occupational statistics for Taiwan reveal something. The following table divides the population into such broad categories as 'occupied in agriculture and forestry', 'occupied in industry and mining', etc. The division is given for the whole population and also, for the Chinese and the Japanese separately. The year taken is 1930, because no later figures are available, but it will be shown later that no great changes have taken place since that time. Unlike Korea, where the members of the family who do not take part in work are included in the same occupational group as that of the head of the family, in Taiwan they are registered as having 'no occupation'.

Occupational Statistics For Taiwan, 1930
(in thousands)

	Agriculture and forestry	Fishing	Industry and mining	Trade	Communication	Public serv. & prof.	Others	No Occup.	Total
Japanese	4.4	1.6	15.2	18.1	9.1	37.6	4.5	137.7	228.2
Natives	1,191.7	26.8	144.2	151.0	49.8	37.4	67.6	2,645.1	4,313.6
Total (incl. others)*	1,197.1	28.6	173.6	178.3	63.1	76.0	73.4	2,802.4	4,592.5

* Includes 'foreigners', chiefly Chinese from China proper.

The same table is given below in percentages, taking the number of those occupied as 100 For the sake of comparison corresponding figures for Japan proper for the same year are given: [33]

Occupational Distribution Of Taiwan
(percentages, 1930)

	Agric. and forestry	Fish ing	Industry and mining	Trade	Com- muni- cations	Public serv. & prof.	Others	Total occu- pied
Taiwan								
Japanese	4.8	1.8	16.8	20.0	10.1	41.5	5.0	100.0
Natives	71.4	1.6	8.6	9.0	3.0	2.2	4.1	100.0
All, incl. others	67.0	1.6	9.7	10.0	3.5	4.2	4.1	100.0
Japan proper (1930)	47.7	1.8	20.0	15.1	3.7	6.9	4.5	100.0

In a condensed form this table indicates to us the most important problems of Taiwan. Taking the native population, we see that almost three-fourths are occupied in agriculture. Forestry as a rule serves only as subsidiary occupation to agriculture. At the same time only 8.6 per cent are occupied in industry and mining, and this also includes those occupied in domestic industries where the productivity of labor is almost as low as in Chinese agriculture. At the same time there are more persons occupied in trade in the broad sense than in industry (9.0 and 8.6 per cent respectively) while only three

per cent are occupied in transportation. This illustrates the low level of economic development of the country. In this respect comparison with Japan is interesting. Only a few decades ago Japan herself was at about the same stage of economic development as China. Now, we see that less than half of her population are engaged in agriculture and 20 per cent in industry and mining.

The occupational statistics prove once more that there are two distinct groups in the population; 41.5 per cent of the Japanese, as compared with only 2.2 per cent for the natives, are occupied in public service and the professions, i.e. they form the backbone of the administrative services of the island. We shall see later that only the lowest positions in these services are open to the Chinese. Almost 17 per cent of the Japanese are occupied in industry, and they occupy all the key positions. About 18 per cent of them are occupied in trade and 10 per cent in communications. Comparison with figures for 1905 indicates furthermore that no substantial changes have taken place since then. [34]

	Agric. and forestry	Industry and mining	Commerce and communic.	Public service	Other occupations
Chinese					
1905	75.5	6.1	8.2	1.4	8.8
1930	73.0	8.6	12.2	2.2	4.1

	Agric. and forestry	Industry and mining	Commerce and communic.	Public service	Other occupations
Japanese					
1905	*	23.5	32.5	37.8	6.2
1930	*	16.8	30.1	41.5	11.6

* Included in 'other occupations.'

More than 75 per cent of the Chinese were occupied in agriculture in 1905, and 73 per cent in 1930; there was a slight rise in the number occupied in industry—from 6.1 to 8.6—and a more pronounced increase of those occupied in trade. As is well known, trade is the refuge of the unemployed and under-employed and its rapid growth as compared with other professions is hardly a sign of strength.

In twenty-five years the number of Japanese occupied in government administration rose from 37.8 per cent to 41.5 per cent. The fall in the percentage of those occupied in industry may be due to the fact that in the period from 1896 to 1905 very many Japanese were obsessed with the idea of making money in Taiwan in the shortest possible time. Since then the potentialities of the island have become better known, large business organizations have squeezed out the independent ventures. In any case these figures illustrating the changes in Taiwan in twenty-five years do not show that with the passing of time the occupational composition of the Chinese and of the Japanese of the island tends to become similar. If data were available for each occupation showing how many Japanese

and how many Chinese are in important executive positions and how many in subordinate positions, the gap would appear much wider. Unfortunately, direct data are not available, but we shall see later that there is no indication that the division is becoming less sharp."

4:Grajdanzev--38-40 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-4
116, 162, 171

"It was mentioned above that an investigation of Taiwan's population statistics might throw some light on the population of China and that it is strange that demographers have not used the results of the six censuses that were taken on the island. We cannot analyse this question in detail here, but our results will point to some divergences from those obtained by Dr. Buck in his most extensive study of land utilization in China. (1)

1. J. L. Buck, Land Utilization in China, Chicago, 1937.

According to Buck's investigation, the average-sized [39] family in China is 5.3, with 6.3 persons per family in double-cropping rice areas. The following figures show that, contrary to the experience of most countries, the average size of family in Taiwan shows a tendency to grow:

	1905	1915	1920	1925	1930	1935
Persons per family:	5.2	5.3	5.2	5.5	5.7	5.8

Whether this increase is due to the improved technique of census-taking or to the change in the definition of family we do not know. If this increase really took place, it may be a symptom of deterioration of standards of living: young people cannot find employment, have no chance to establish their own homes, and are compelled to continue to live with their families.

4: Grajdanzev--38-40 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-2
116, 162, 171

Besides Taiwan, censuses were taken in Kwantung territory, (of South Manchuria) but they do not have the same value because the sex and age composition of the population there is not normal: many people are settling there without families, and leaving their wives and children in their native villages.

Comparison Of The Sex Ratios Of The Population (Men=100) (2)

2. In this and in the following tables the whole population of Taiwan and of Kwangtung, and not only its Chinese part, is taken, because no separate data are available, but this cannot make a substantial difference for Taiwan because there the Chinese make up 94 per cent of the total population.

	China, acc. to Buck	Taiwan census, 1935	Kwantung census, 1935
Women	92	96	66

It is clear that Kwantung is not normal in this respect, but comparison of Taiwan and China, as recorded by Buck, shows that females were probably underestimated in Buck's investigation: in Taiwan the difference in numbers is not great.

116, 162, 171

Age-Distribution Of The Population
(Percentages)

	China acc. to Buck	Taiwan census, 1935	Kwantung census, 1935
Under 10	25.0	31.1	22.0
10-19	19.3	20.4	19.6
20-29	17.0	17.3	23.6
30-39	13.8	12.3	15.8
40-49	11.4	8.3	9.7
50 and over	13.5	10.9	9.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

[40] Comparison of these columns shows that in Kwantung territory the age distribution of the population is not normal--there are too few children and too many adults in the age groups between twenty and thirty-nine, and therefore we omit Kwantung from further investigation. But a comparison of China and Taiwan suggests that children were underestimated in Buck's investigation.

Comparison Of Crude Birth And Death Rates (3)

3. The figures for Taiwan are averages for ten years (1927-36), and include the whole population. The corresponding figures for the Chinese population only (five-year average for 1933-38) are as follows: birth rate, 45.8; death rate, 20.6

Birth rates		Death rates	
China (Buck)	Taiwan	China (Buck)	Taiwan
38.3	44.6	27.1	20.7

In Taiwan the death rate is lower and the birth rate higher than in China. The difference in respect of death rates is quite probable because the medical service in Taiwan cannot be compared with the more primitive conditions in China, but the lower birth rate in China is much less probable.

Birth rate per 1,000 married females, between the ages of 15 and 44 years is 207 in Buck's investigation, but for Taiwan in 1935 it is 297—a difference too great to be attributed to chance. All this demonstrates once more the importance of a study of Taiwan's censuses for those who are interested in the demography of China."

4:Grajdanzev--41 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 171

"In surveying agricultural conditions in Taiwan, we shall frequently make comparisons with Japan. The reasons for these comparisons are clear: Taiwan has for forty-five years been a part of the Japanese empire, and free movement of capital and, to some degree, of labor takes place between it and the mother country and it is part of the same monetary and banking system. The population which came under Japanese control was at about the same cultural level in 1895 as Japan herself ten to twenty years before. Its agricultural system, its ethics, religion, and literature resemble those of Japan, and therefore comparisons between the mother-country, and Taiwan, a colonial territory, are very instructive."

4:Grajdanzev--46-47 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-3
116, 171, 241, 454, 433, 177.24 Japan
636.24

"(3) Increased agricultural production may also be achieved by raising yields per unit of area. Below we give a comparison of yields in Taiwan and in Japan, and in the case of sugar cane, the area of which in Japan is too small, a comparison with Hawaii and the Netherlands Indies, where conditions are similar to those in Taiwan, while groundnut production in Taiwan is compared to that of Kwantung.

Crop Yields In Quintals Per Hectare in Taiwan and Other Countries.

		1928-32 average	1933-37 average	1937
Wheat	Taiwan	8.7	9.7	10.7
	Japan	17.7	19.1	19.1
Barley	Taiwan	6.4	8.0	7.4
	Japan	19.9	20.6	20.9
Maize	Taiwan	11.3	10.8	11.6
	Japan	14.1	14.7	16.7
Rice	Taiwan	22.2	25.1	26.1
	Japan	35.0	36.8	38.6
Sugar cane	Taiwan	684.4	654.4* Four-year average 1933-36.	...
	N. E. I.	1,308.0	1,374* Four-year average 1933-36.	...
	Hawaii	1,349.4	1,515* Four-year average 1933-36.	...

		1928-32 average	1933-37 average	1937
Soya beans	Taiwan	5.6	5.7	6.2
	Japan	10.0	10.0	11.2
Groundnuts	Taiwan	16.2	17.1	18.4
	Kwantung	19.0	20.7	...
Sesamum	Taiwan	3.5	3.9	4.2
	Japan	7.3	7.5	7.5

The yields per hectare of the most important plants in Taiwan's economy are therefore thirty to fifty per cent less than in Japan, or, in the case of sugar, in Hawaii or the Netherlands East Indies, and yet all available sources mention the fertility of the soil in Taiwan, while climatic conditions are at least as good as in Japan or the Netherlands Indies.

The explanation lies in the primitive methods of Taiwan [47] agriculture, including the slight use of fertilizers. Judging by the cultivated area and the number of farmers, the island should have at least 300,000 to 400,000 ploughs, but in 1929 (1) almost all (except

1. The last data available, Nogyo nenkan, p. 642.

18,315 'improved' ploughs for deeper ploughing and 614 of the European type) were of the

primitive Chinese pattern. While in Japan proper an average of ¥170 to ¥180 per hectare is spent each year on commercial and home-prepared fertilizers, in Taiwan less than half that sum is spent for this purpose. These two examples—ploughs and fertilizers—for which quantitative data are available show clearly that Taiwan farming is under-capitalized, especially when we consider that the farmer is obliged to pay ¥2,000 per ko for good land.

This does not of course mean that there is no improvement in the agriculture of Taiwan. The government devotes much effort to increasing the productivity of the farms and the farmers are eager to respond. Yields are now higher than they were twenty years ago, as one may see from the tables given later in this chapter. But progress is slow. It is doubtful whether yields in Japan in 1895—the time of the annexation of the island—were higher than in Taiwan, whereas now they are considerably greater and relatively Taiwan is lagging further and further behind."

4:Grajdanzev--56 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans -1-2
116, 171, 262, 439, 511, 177.43 Japan
636.43

"Taiwan is famous for its rice production of which it exports almost half. The opinion of Japanese economists is that exports of Taiwan's rice to Japan brought to the island such prosperity that some measures had to be taken to curb it. But the data presented in this table [See page 55--analyst] show quite a different picture. In 1905 the annual per capita consumption of rice in Taiwan was about 1.25 koku. Then it fell, but an increase in production brought it back to that level in 1925. At about that time the heavy exports of Taiwan's rice to Japan started: These exports brought a sharp fall in per capita consumption—it fell to 0.87 in 1935 and has remained on about the same level since that time. Now, 0.87 koku per year is about 0.8 pound per person per day. It was pointed out that the production of other cereals in Taiwan is almost nil. Only sweet potatoes form a significant addition to the diet (more than one lb. per person per day). Some wheat flour is imported but this amounts to only two to three per cent of the exports of rice (by weight).

These figures are for the total population. But the urban dwellers are probably better off than the farmers, so that the average for farmers should be less than 0.87 koku. Exports of rice from Taiwan to Japan cannot therefore be taken as a sign of Taiwan's prosperity, for they resulted in a fall in standards of living for the Chinese in Taiwan. Data for the last five years show that the annual average consumption of rice in Japan is about 1.10 koku, while in Taiwan it is 0.84. In other words, per capita consumption of rice in

4:Grajdanzev--56 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-2
116, 171, 262, 439, 511, 177.43 Japan
636.43

Japan is thirty-one per cent higher than in Taiwan, though the Japanese consume in addition considerable amounts of wheat, barley, and other cereals, which are almost entirely absent in Taiwan, to say nothing of sweet potatoes."

4:Grajdanzev--64-65 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 171, 263, 511

"As with rice it is interesting to note the per capita consumption of sugar in Taiwan. Although almost ninety-five per cent of the sugar output is exported, per capita consumption of sugar in Taiwan was 15.9 kin in 1938, as compared with [65] 23.5 kin in Japan. In other words Japan's consumption is forty-three per cent higher than Taiwan's (1).

1. These figures are taken from Keizai nenkan, 1940, of Toyo keizai shimposha, pp. 205, 206."

4:Grajdanzev--66 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 171, 272

"Average consumption [of tea--analyst] in Taiwan was 676,000 kin or one-eighth of a kin per capita—not much for a tea-drinking nation and for a tea-producing island. In Japan the average annual per capita consumption of tea for the same period was 0.76 kin, (1)

1. The figure is calculated from the data on tea as given in the International Yearbook of Agricultural Statistics, 1939.

or five times as much as in Taiwan."

4:Grajdanzev--68-69 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans -1-2
116, 231, 492, 171

"The draft animals in Taiwan are the water buffalo and, second in importance, the 'yellow cow'. The water buffalo [69] is a strong animal, slow in movement, which likes to wade in water. and is satisfied with coarse fodder. Its meat is not very palatable. The yellow cow is less powerful but more alert, and its meat is much better than that of the buffalo. Milch cows in Taiwan are few in number—in 1938 they were estimated at 1,275. No statistics of the number of cows and buffaloes of working age are available, but the following total figures will suffice to show the trend (in thousands):

	1921	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
Water buffaloes	307.9	286.3	302.2	306.9	305.8	292.3	282.1	259.7
Cows of all kinds	113.6	80.4	84.0	88.0	84.7	78.6	76.3	65.4
Total	421.5	366.7	386.2	394.3	390.5	370.9	358.4	325.1
Cultivated area (1,000 ko)	773.8*	839.7	845.5	851.3	856.8	872.3	883.3	884.4
Area per head of draft animals (in ko)	1.83	2.29	2.19	2.16	2.19	2.35	2.46	2.72

*1922.

The average number of ko per head of draft animals is therefore increasing and unless the quality of the buffalo is improving remarkably, the situation is becoming less and less

116, 231, 492, 171

favorable. (1) Though official sources speak about improvement in the quality of pigs and

1. It is important to note also that the number of females among the draft animals is falling sharply: in 1921 there were 158,000; in 1933, 140,000; in 1937, 127,000.

horses, they are silent concerning the buffalo. In this respect Taiwan is worse off than the Philippines or the Netherlands Indies. In the table only cultivated land was taken into consideration; the crop area is in fact larger, and was growing faster than the arable area, so that the situation is actually worse than the figures suggest."

"The number of other animals in Taiwan may be seen from the following table (in thousands):

	1921	1932	1933	1935	1937	1938
Sheep	...	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3	...
Goats	...	90.1	87.0	78.3	70.4	...
Pigs	1,281	1,754	1,807	1,873	1,849	1,827
Poultry	4,452	5,267	5,747	6,466	7,703	7,947
Geese	190	306.3	319.6	370.8	401.5	394.2
Ducks	890	1,379	1,496	1,772	1,958	2,225
Turkeys	...	9.2	11.2	18.5	30.8	35.3

As regards pigs and poultry the situation is more favorable: there was a considerable increase in pigs, poultry, geese, and ducks. On the average there are four pigs (including sucklings) and eighteen to nineteen hens per farming family (assuming that only farmers keep pigs and fowl). These are an important source of meat and income. (1) The development is a consequence of the growth of the sugar industry—the cane waste can be utilized

1. The official estimate of an average per capita pork consumption of more than 28 kin a year (37 pounds) is probably an exaggeration. In 1938 one million pigs were killed. If consumption per capita averaged 28 kin, each pig must have weighed 160 kin, but the official estimate of the average weight is 130 kin.

on the farm as fodder. In this respect Taiwan is much better off than Korea. But one should not exaggerate the importance of these figures. It was officially estimated that in 1937 the gross value of products of animal breeding in Taiwan was ¥49.2 million or slightly more than twelve per cent of total agricultural production."

4:Grajdanzev--71 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 171, 241, 311, 433, 511, 177.24 Japan
636.24

"It is worth while to observe that in our investigation of agricultural production in Taiwan the figures analyzed were averages, and no question was raised as to whether these averages may be considered representative. The one-sided development of agriculture was emphasized, especially the cultivation of rice and, to a lesser extent, of sugar cane. It is known that one-sided development of agriculture results in soil exhaustion unless sufficient quantities of fertilizers are used, but it was shown that the application of fertilizers is practised on a much smaller scale than in Japan. It was shown also that cultivation is on a low level, yields are low, technique is backward, the draft animal supply is insufficient and per capita consumption of cereals is considerably lower than in Japan.

The expansion of rice production which took place was due chiefly to the increase of the irrigated area and to the increase of acreage from which two crops can be obtained —largely through irrigation and improvement of fields. In the production of sugar cane considerable success has been achieved in increasing the yield and sugar content of the cane. However, in the production of both rice and sugar cane the farmers received a disproportionately small share of the gains."

4:Grajdanzev--83 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 171, 427

"Rent is paid chiefly in kind, though payment in cash is spreading. Where two crops are raised, a proportion of 7:3 is usual, i.e. the tenant pays seventy per cent of the rent from the first crop and thirty from the second. Rents in Taiwan are somewhat lower than in Japan, and Takahashi attributes this to the greater investments in the form of land improvements in Japan as compared with Taiwan."

4:Grajdanzev--86-87 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-2
116, 171, 262, 435, 439

"As to the general supply of fish for the population of Taiwan, the Japan Year Book has the following to say: '. . . The Taiwanese are a fish-eating people, but the annual catch is so great that a large quantity is exported to Japan proper [87] and other countries' (1).

1. P. 941, 1939-40 edition.

Statistics of the industry tell a different story. Compared with Japan the natives of Taiwan are poorly supplied with fish, for in 1937 the value of fishery products in Japan proper was ¥660,807 or about ¥9.3 per capita as compared with ¥3.8 in Taiwan. It is true that an important part of this catch is exported from Japan and a part is used as fertilizer, but the same is true for Taiwan. As may be seen from the following table, Taiwan is a net importer of fish:

External Trade of Taiwan in Fish
(1,000 yen)

Year	Exports to Japan	Exports to other countries	Gross exports	Imports from Japan	Imports from other countries	Gross imports	Net imports
1937	4,111	832	4,943	10,095	687	10,782	5,839
1938	3,006	491	3,497	11,535	405	11,940	8,443

The secret of this coexistence of exports and imports of fish does not lie in any over-abundance. The Japanese in Taiwan export fresh fish to Japan which they sell for an average price of 26 sen a kin (0.6 kg.), and import two kinds of fish: (a) salted and dried fish at an average price of 12.5 sen a kin and (b) canned fish. It is clear that these two kinds of imported fish are not consumed by the same groups of the population.

We saw above that the population of Taiwan consumes more meat on the average than do the Japanese; now we see that the Japanese consume much more fish than the islanders (2).

2. It was mentioned above that the average consumption of pork in Taiwan is about 37 kin, while in Japan it is only 3 kin; but the average consumption of fish in Japan must be, on the most conservative estimate, 60 to 70 kin."

116, 137, 171, 313, 435

"The present distribution of forests and waste lands (i.e. formerly forest or which can be afforested) may be seen from the following table:

Forest Area in Taiwan, December 1936
(1,000 ko)

	On the plains	In the aborigines' territory	Total
State: forests	399,086	1,312,562	1,711,648
waste land	195,529	308,137	503,666
Public: forests	12,112	...	12,112
waste land	3,529	...	3,529
Private: forests	219,095	1,568	220,663
waste land	45,131	...	45,131
Total: forests	630,293	1,314,130	1,944,423
waste land	244,189	308,137	552,326

The Japan Year Book say: 'Reckless cutting of trees was done by Chinese immigrants and this . . . resulted in the devastation of forest districts.' But it is surprising to find that the forest area on the plains (excluding waste land) is about three-quarters of the area under cultivation. However, the exploitation of this tremendous area—2,496,749 ko or about 5.8 million acres—leaves much to be desired. According to official

statistics. the total value of forest products in 1936 was only ¥15.1 million—much less than the value of fishery products or only two per cent of the gross value of the island's production. This sum was made up of the following items: [89] timber, ¥5.6 million; charcoal. 1.9 million; bamboo, 1.7 million; firewood, 2.7 million; and others 3.2 million. If these figures are correct, then of the 2,496,749 ko, one ko brings on the average only six yen, or less than half that in Japan."

4:Grajdanzev--91-92 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans -1-3
116, 171, 433

"Having established the absolute size of industrial production of Taiwan, let us now compare it with gross value of industrial production of Korea and Japan and reduce it to a per capita basis.

This table shows that in 1937 and 1938 per capita industrial production in Taiwan was only one-fourth as large as that of [92] Japan, but was higher than in Korea. If we compare 1929 and 1937 we see that the difference between Taiwan and Japan was smaller in the former year than now, both absolutely and relatively, so that in spite of all talk of the industrialization of Taiwan, the difference between Japan and Taiwan in this respect is increasing. (1)

1. In An Inquiry into National Income of Japan, published by the Research Division of the Japan Economic Federation in 1939, we read on page 90; 'The rates at which production has increased in the Dependencies have been greater than those which have been the case with Japan proper. This fact suggests the youth of industry in the Dependencies.' But, the following comparison shows that the conclusion in the text is correct and that the rates of growth at least in Taiwan are not greater than in Japan proper (based on the absolute figures taken from the Inquiry).

Gross Value of Industrial Production in Japan, Korea and Taiwan, 1929 and 1937 (2)

	Total gross value (million yen)			Per capital [sic] (yen)		
	1929	1937	1938	1929	1937	1938
Taiwan	263.8	360.1	386.4*	58	64	67
Korea	280.5†	927.3	...	14	41	...
Japan	7,716.8	16,412.5	19,667.2	122.5	230	272

Sources: Dainippon teikoku nenkan and Takumu tokei.
*Approximate, because data for machine industry is not abailable.
†1930, no figures are available for earlier dates.

2. These figures for Taiwan differ slightly from those given in the previous table above (taken from Nogyo nenkan), but they are comparable with those of Japan and Korea.

4:Grajdanzev--91-92 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-3
116, 171, 433

Comparison of Rates of Growth
(1930 = 100)

	Industrial production alone	Total production
Japan, 1937	255	229
Taiwan, 1937	194	170 "

"This predominance of the food industry, or, in other words, of the processing of agricultural products, may also be illustrated by the following figures of workers by industries in Taiwan for 1937 covering enterprises with five and more workers, (1) or with a prime-

1. Government enterprises are excluded.

mover. [94]

	Absolute figures	Per cent of total
Textile	3,951	4.5
Metals	2,884	3.3
Machinery	4,214	4.8
Ceramics	10,528	12.1
Chemical	4,988	5.7
Lumber	2,674	3.1
Printing	3,027	3.5
Food industry	48,615	55.7
Other	6,363	7.3
Total	87,244	100.0

Source: Dainippon teikoku nenkan, 1939.

4:Grajdanzev--93-94 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-2
116, 171, 433, 463

"The total number of workers in 1937 was only 87,244, while in Japan in the same year it was 2,936,512, or 34 times as many, though the population of the latter in the same year was only 12.7 times as great as Taiwan's. The number of workers in the food industry made up 55.7 per cent of the total, a smaller proportion than that based on the gross value of production, while the proportion of ceramics in the total was unexpectedly high (12.1 per cent) and that of the chemical industry only 5.7 per cent. The divergence may be explained (1) by special conditions in the industries concerned (e.g. the relation between gross value and net value is different in different industries); (2) by the prominence of modern or of primitive types of industrial enterprises—those in ceramics, printing, bookbinding and the lumber industry, for example, are chiefly small enterprises without machinery where productivity per worker is small; but in the food industry as will be shown later on, and in the chemical industry new and efficient enterprises predominate; (3) by the monopolistic position in the market of certain industries, which permits them to exploit the consumers."

4:Grajdanzev--96-97 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-2
116, 171, 454, 471, 473, 177.47 Japan
636.47

"It is also interesting to compare the size of the companies in Taiwan as regards capital with those in Japan proper and in Korea.

Industrial Companies, their Total and Average Capital in the Japanese Empire, December 31, 1937.

	Companies, number	Total paid-up capital and investments (million yen)	Capital per enterprise (1,000 yen)	Capital per capita of population (yen)
Japan proper	30,518	9,396.9	308	132
Korea	981	246.2	251	11
Taiwan	335	191.5	572	34
Kwantung	358	96.9	271	81
Karafuto	88	33.6	382	103

Source: Dainippon teikoku tokei nenkan, 1939.

It is clear that Taiwan and Korea are poorly supplied with capital per capita of population, but there is an important difference between them: the average capital per company in Taiwan is higher than in any other part of the Japanese Empire, including Japan proper. These are averages and include small as well as large companies, but behind them one may see the silhouettes of big corporations dominating the economic life of Taiwan,

corporations which have few equals even in industrially developed Japan (1).

1. By size of total paid-up capital the corporations and partnerships in industry in Taiwan were distributed as follows: [97]

Size	Number of companies	per cent of total	Total paid-up capital (1,000 yen)	per cent of total
Less than ¥10,000	50	14.9	253	0.1
¥ 10,000- 49,000	111	33.1	1,922	1.0
¥ 50,000- 99,000	34	10.2	1,276	0.7
¥100,000- 199,000	48	14.3	3,020	1.6
¥ 200,000- 499,000	40	11.9	4,878	2.5
¥ 500,000- 999,000	20	6.0	4,694	2.5
¥1,000,000-4,999,000	25	7.5	24,077	12.6
¥5,000,000-9,999,000	2	0.6	5,700	3.0
Over ¥10,000,000	5	1.5	145,316	76.0
Total	335	100.0	191.1	100.0

Thus, 32 companies—9.6 per cent of the total number—had 91.6 per cent of the total capital of companies."

4:Grajdanzev--109 [21 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 135, 171, 315, 354

"From the local point of view the production of natural gas is more important[than that of oil--analyst]. The region richest in gas is Kinsui in Shinchiku province, and the gas is used for the production of benzine and carbon-black, as a fuel for sugar mills, and for domestic use. However, in 1937 only 7,411 families had gas facilities (as compared with 2,233,136 in Japan proper)."

4:Grajdanzev--112 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans -1-2
116, 171, 471, 563, 477, 655, 177.47 Japan
636.47

"It may be of some interest to compare the share of native corporations in the total corporate capital of Taiwan with their share in Korea, for which the most recent data is available:

Percentage Share of the Native Corporations in the Total Capital of Corporations

	Taiwan, 1929 Per cent	Korea 1938 Per cent
Agriculture	52.8	20.7
Industry	8.5	6.6
Commerce	52.7	19.1
Communications	44.5	7.5
Fisheries	34.3	6.3
Mining	20.1	6.8
Total	19.8	11.3

Source for Korea: Kokusei gurafu, April 1940.

It is evident from this table that in Korea the occupation of commanding positions by Japanese capital had proceeded much further by 1938 than it had in Taiwan by 1929. Native capital was strongest in Taiwan in 1929 in agriculture, commerce, communications and fisheries and it is interesting to note that Korean capital was most strongly placed

just in these branches in 1920. This is not a coincidence. The squeezing out of the native capital usually begins in industry and mining (2) and reaches commerce and agriculture

2. Actually it began with communications. The railroads in both colonies are in Japanese hands, but since they belong chiefly to the government they are not included in the above figures.

only at a later stage. In Korea native capital is now only eleven per cent of total corporate capital. and there is no reason to expect that the proportion is higher in Taiwan.

The answer to the first question as to the nationality of capital in industry and mining in Taiwan is thus quite clear—from ninety to ninety-five per cent of this capital belongs to the Japanese."

4:Grajdanzev--112-113 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 171, 563, 471

"According to Takahashi, (1) industry in Taiwan [113] is chiefly in Japanese hands because

1. Op. cit. p. 434 et seq.

(1) the Japanese are able to organize modern enterprises; (2) the Chinese are chiefly concentrated in domestic industry; (3) the national characteristics of the Chinese are such that they are unable to organize corporations; (4) any accumulations of capital which they may have are small because they came to the island recently and their chief occupation is agriculture; (5) they cannot compete in the Japanese market with the Japanese because they do not know the market; (6) in those cases where they do organize a corporation their aim is to get profits quickly, and this brings ruin to the corporation. This is a familiar argument in colonial countries. We make only a few comments below.

It is argued that the Chinese do not have the accumulation of capital necessary for modern industry, that they came to Taiwan recently (!) and that their chief occupation is agriculture. But in 1900-05, when the Japanese began to build up the industrial enterprises of Taiwan, the chief occupation of the Japanese in Japan was also agriculture. It would be a mistake to suppose that they exported a huge amount of capital to Taiwan. This question will be touched upon in the chapter on the external trade of Taiwan, where we shall show that the capital of corporations in Taiwan was 'created' chiefly in Taiwan itself."

"Japanese economists argue that the prosperous condition of the villagers makes it difficult for industry in Taiwan to secure female workers, so that in 1935, for example, women made up [114] only 30.6 per cent of all workers, (1) while in Japan the proportion

1. In 1936 women made up 32.6 per cent of all workers. Kagaku kogyo nenkan, 1939.

was 47 per cent. Let us make a closer examination of the figures.

Proportion of Women in Different Industries

	In Japan		In Taiwan	
	1935	1933	1935	1936
Textile industry	80.9	80.6	80.9	73.4
Metals	7.1	8.8	10.5	10.6
Machinery	8.5	0.5	0.7	1.2
Ceramics	20.6	13.7	15.2	18.6
Chemicals	35.1	23.4	23.4	26.4
Lumber	9.0	5.6	6.6	5.8
Foodstuffs	18.1	34.3	33.3	34.8
Printing	18.1	12.5	10.8	12.9
Gas and electricity	0.8	—	—	—
Others	51.4	66.0	62.2	68.2
Total	47.0	31.7	30.6	32.6

From this table it may be seen that in the textile and ceramic industries the percentage of women is about the same in Taiwan as in Japan; in metals, foodstuffs, and 'other' industries it is larger, while in machinery, chemicals, and printing it is smaller but is growing. The smaller percentage total (32.6 per cent in Taiwan and 47 per cent in Japan) is explained by the simple fact that in Taiwan there is no significant textile industry. If we exclude the textile industry, then in 1936 the proportion of women in industry was 30.6 per cent for Taiwan and only 18.7 per cent for Japan (2). It is no fault

2. The figure for Japan is calculated from the data of Nippon rodo nenkan, 1938.

of the Chinese women and it is not a sign of Taiwan's prosperity if the industries existing in Taiwan are less suited to women. To say, as Takahashi does, that the textile industry is absent in Taiwan because the women, being prosperous, do not want to work, is naive. Taiwan is in the sphere of the Japanese customs tariff and experiences all the pressure of Osaka and Nagoya competition; it has no cotton of its own, nor has it such good harbors and commercial organization that it could be supplied with cotton cheaper than Kobe. It is natural then [115] that the cotton industry has had no chance to develop. But, as was mentioned, in other branches of industry the proportion of women in industry is higher in Taiwan than in Japan."

4:Grajdanzev--115 [2] S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans -1-2
116, 171, 465

"Japanese authors complain that wages in Taiwan are high, and that they are high because of the prosperous condition of the farmers. The farmers are so well off that they do not want to leave the farms. Takahashi tells a story, for example, of how government officials were not able to hire a sufficient number of laborers for irrigation works at the rate of wages prescribed by these officials. The chief obstacle to the development of industry, we are told, is high wages. Moreover, these wages are rising continuously. The official Taiwan Jijo says: 'wages of the islanders up to 1920 rose by 200 per cent in comparison with the prewar level, while in comparison with the period before the Japanese occupation the increase is wonderful' (odoroku-beki) (1). Below we give wages per

1. Op. cit., p. 610.

day for corresponding groups of workers in Tokyo and Nagoya in Japan, and Taihoku and Taichu in Taiwan.

Wages per Day in 1939
(yen)

	Japan		Taiwan	
	Tokyo	Nagoya	Taihoku	Taichu
Turners	4.20	2.84	1.60	no data
Cement workers	2.36	2.58	no data	0.95

Wages per Day in 1939 [Cont.]
(yen)

	Japan		Taiwan	
	Tokyo	Nagoya	Taihoku	Taichu
Foundry workers	4.01	2.38	1.20	no data
Millers	2.93	2.45	1.15	0.70
Dyers	3.07	1.78	1.09	no data
Printers	3.33	2.12	1.80	1.00
Day laborers, men	2.10	2.20	0.85	0.74
Day laborers, women	1.24	1.30	0.60	0.55

Sources: For Taiwan, Taiwan Jijo; for Japan, Rodo nenkan."

"As is well known, Japan is not a country of high wages. Yet wages there are from two to three times higher than the wages of the Chinese in Taiwan and do not seem to have been an obstacle to the development of industry. The wage level is closely connected with the level of retail prices and this we give below.

Retail Prices in Taihoku, May 1939

		(sen)
Sweet potatoes	(per kin)	6.4
Rice, horai	(per kin)	11
Sugar	(per kin)	29
Pork, average quality	(per kin)	43
Miso, per 100 momme	(0.827 lb.)	8
Fish	(per kin)	18-22
Eggs, each		6
Soap, per piece		10-17
Matches, per box		1.4
Firewood, per 100 kin		180
Muslin (per yard)		134

Now, let us take two workers—one skilled and one day laborer. For the skilled workers the average daily wage in the second half of 1938 was ¥1.43 per day, (1) for an

1. This is a simple arithmetic average of 60 different

categories of workers in Taihoku; in so far as highly paid categories are small in numbers, the weighted average would be lower. The official estimate of the average wage for Taihoku is ¥1.27.

unskilled worker ¥0.85. The average family in Taiwan consists of five to six persons. According to the prices given above, the skilled worker can buy with his daily wages, for example, either 17.2 lb. of rice or 4.4 lb. of pork, or 6.5 lb. of sugar. An unskilled worker can make such purchases as 10.2 lb. of rice, or 2.6 lb. of pork, or 3.9 lb. of sugar. By whatever standards, it is evident that the wages of the workers are very low.

The wages of Japanese workers, on the other hand, are at least double those of the Chinese for the same job. For Taihoku the official estimate of the average wage for the Chinese is ¥1.27, for Japanese, ¥2.41 (2). It is thus not profitable for the Japanese

2. A simple arithmetic average for 25 occupations of the Japanese in Taihoku gives ¥2.65.

entrepreneurs to use Japanese workers extensively."

4:Grajdanzev--118 [2] S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 171, 496, 497

"Some Railroad Statistics of Taiwan and Japan for 1937

	Taiwan	Japan proper
Length of railroads (km.)	1,550	26,797
Same per 100 sq. km. (km.)	4.3	7.0
Passengers carried (1,000)	27,488	1,739,688
Trips per capita	4.9	24.1
Freight carried (1,000 tons)	8,187	130,813
Freight, per capita (tons)	1.5	1.8
Receipts from passengers (million yen)	11.2	391.1
Average cost per trip (yen)	0.41	0.22
Receipts from freight (million yen)	18.5	306.4
Average cost per ton (yen)	2.26	2.34"

4:Grajdanzev--119 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 171, 496

"The table above [see preceding note page 118--analyst] compares railroad data in Taiwan and in Japan.

These figures may appear unimportant, but they are essential for our investigation because only in this way is it possible to discover certain important relationships. It was already mentioned that in the last eleven years the total length of the railways in Taiwan increased only slightly——by five per cent, while in Japan in the last nine years (1928-37) the increase was thirty-nine per cent. The network of railways in Japan is now almost twice as dense as that of Taiwan."

4:Grajdanzev--119 [2] S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 171, 497, 511, 563, 177.49 Japan
636.49

"From the table given above [see table on page 118 under category 116--analyst] we see that a Japanese makes almost five times as many trips a year as does a Taiwanese --whereas the movement of the freight appears relatively as large as in Japan. The movement of passengers reflects the conditions of life of the natives while the movement of freight in Taiwan is the movement of Japanese freight to and from ports--coal, sugar, rive, fertilizer, lumber, and sugar cane (1) (in the order of freight carried)--

1. Sugar cane is in sixth place because the bulk of its [sic] transported on special railroads.

which, as will be shown later in more detail, serve chiefly the Japanese economic machine. The statistics of revenue show that the average cost per ton of freight in Taiwan is less than in Japan (¥2.26 as compared with ¥2.34). It may be said that this is quite reasonable because in Taiwan average distance over which the freight is moved is less. On the other hand, the average passenger cost per trip in Taiwan is twice as high. In spite of the smaller scale of operation, the railways of Taiwan bring a net return of eight to nine per cent as compared with six per cent in Japan (1937)."

4:Grajdanzev--123-124 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 171, 205

"In seventeen years there has been no progress in the use of the means of communication by the population: the number of letters sent (per capita) fell from 16.2 in 1921 to 14.2 in 1938. while in Japan in 1937 the average was almost five times as great (65.1). In 1938 the population sent fewer telegrams [124] and parcels per capita than in 1921--only one person out of seven in Taiwan sending one parcel a year as compared with 1.13 parcels per person in Japan, and only one out of three persons in Taiwan sent one telegram a year. The number of telephone and radio users is small; there are in Japan forty times as many telephone users per capita and seven times as many radio listeners as in Taiwan. The difference may in part be explained by the absence of facilities, as may be seen from the following comparison:

Number of Inhabitants per Post Office in Taiwan and Japan

	Taiwan	Japan
1928	25,500	6,900
1937	32,200	6,200

The number of inhabitants per post office in Taiwan in the past ten years has increased from 25,500 to 32,200, while in Japan it fell from 6,900 to 6,200 indicating that the Japanese are five times better supplied with post offices. But the scarcity of facilities alone can not explain everything."

4:Grajdanzev--125 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 167, 171, 205, 563

"It is also noteworthy that the Japanese in Taiwan send on the average many more letters, parcels, telegrams and have better telephone facilities than the Japanese in Japan proper. This is an indirect proof that they are much better off than the average Japanese at home, a fact to be kept in mind when one is considering the causes for the failure of mass Japanese emigration to the island. The Japanese come to the island in order to secure a better living in Taiwan than they had at home, and not to compete with the low-paid Chinese."

4:Grajdanzev--136 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 171, 565

"We have no data on municipal taxes, but judging by those of the government-general and the provinces, the system is the same as in Japan, where municipal taxes in the budget of 1939 were distributed in the following way:

Land tax	11 . %
House tax	17.3%
Business tax	11.7%
Miscellaneous taxes	11.9%
Special tax	42.5%
Other Income tax	5.6%
Total tax receipts	100.0%"

4:Grajdanzev--139 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 171, 208, 658, 177.20 Japan
636.20

"Analogous to the war expenditures are the related expenditures on propaganda. In this group we included expenditures on broadcasting, including construction of new stations, on 'social education,' and on the 'spiritual mobilization of the population'. There may be some who wonder whether the expenditures on radio-broadcasting stations may be properly considered as expenditures on propaganda. But while in Japan the users of radio receivers must pay a certain annual fee, in Taiwan broadcasting is free because the government considers it a powerful instrument for 'spiritual mobilization' and for the Japanization of the population."

4:Grajdanzev--147 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 171, 477, 656, 177.47 Japan
636.47

"The establishment of a Japanese bank does not of itself mean that Japanese merchants would enjoy privileges in it in comparison with other clients. There remain then monopolies, subsidies, tariff walls and--we add--taxation policy, administrative pressure and other similar measures as causes of the Japanese commercial success. The same measures were applied in Korea, later on in Manchuria and are now being used in China."

4:Grajdanzev--149-150 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-2
116. 171, 435, 439, 177.43 Japan
636.43

"Two other aspects of Taiwan's exports should receive our attention. First, it is interesting to compare the gross value of Taiwan's production with its exports, keeping in mind that the gross value is considerably larger than its net value, i.e. by the cost of materials, fuel used in production, etc.

Comparison of the Gross Value of Production and Exports

Gross value of production,	1903	1922	1929	1937
million yen	84.5	354.2	598.6	890.5
Exports, million yen	20.7	158.4	272.0	440.2
Exports as percent of gross value	24.5	44.7	46.3	49.4

From this table it appears that in 1903 about one-fourth of the gross value was exported, while in 1937 the amount had risen to 49.4 percent. This probably means that in 1937 not less than three-fourths of the total net value of production of production[sic]of Taiwan was exported. Such a high ratio of exports to gross value of production is probably approached only [150] by Korea (1).

1. If Taiwan were to receive the equivalent in imports, the large exports would not constitute a problem. But we shall see later that this is not the case.

To see how far this situation was to the mutual advantage of the natives and the

Japanese, one should compare not only the ratio of exports to total production but also the absolute amounts which are not exported. In 1903 there remained 63.8 million yen worth of unexported goods, while in 1937 450.3 million were left. Let us now examine these figures in the light of price-changes. We have no index of prices for Taiwan in 1903, but we do have prices of rice--the most important product of the island--to which the authorities in 1937 gave a weight of 31 percent in the general index (2). A picul of

2. Actually it should be about 40 percent because the authorities gave sugar a weight of 25.3 percent, unduly large in view of the fact that more than 90 percent of the production is exported.

rice in 1903 cost 2.36 yen; in 1937, it cost 9.32 yen, or almost 4 times as much. If we also take into consideration the growth of population, the residual per capita gross production 'in rice prices' was 21.8 yen in 1903 and 19.8 yen in 1937. These are gross values of production, and since industry played a much greater part in 1937 than in 1903, the per capita net 'real' values in 1937 must actually be much smaller than in 1903. This is a startling conclusion. We emphasize again that these figures can only be approximate, yet they are sufficient to indicate the trend of events."

4:Grajdanzev--154-155 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans -1-3
116, 171, 465, 511, 556, 563, 177.43 Japan
636.43

"The profits and emoluments which the Japanese get from Taiwan may be divided into two parts, that which they consume in Taiwan itself and that which is sent to Japan or invested in business. Consider first what the Japanese consume on the island. We shall assume that the workers and the lesser officials consume the whole of their income—any error which this hypothesis may involve will be small. Skilled Japanese workers in Taiwan earn about 700-800 yen a year and subordinate officials, who form the bulk of the Japanese population, earn about 1,200-1,500 yen a year. There are Japanese who earn and spend much less than the skilled worker and also rich Japanese who spend much more than 1,500 yen. Let us [155] assume that 1,500 yen is the average annual amount spent by a Japanese family in Taiwan and that in each family only one person is working (1). On these assumptions the disbursements of the Japanese popula-

1. It is interesting to note that the budget investigation conducted by the government-general in 1937-1938 based on 355 'representative' Japanese families comprising 1,397 persons arrived at an average of 184.56 yen per month or 2,215 yen per year. This investigation does not include the richest families but does include poorer groups (18 families with incomes below 840 yen a year) showing that our estimate of 1,500 yen is certainly not above the average, but quite probably below it. The same source gives budget figures for the Chinese on the island, but they cannot be used for purposes of accurate comparison because they embrace only the

higher brackets of wage earners and salaried men. Their average earnings are 137.33 yen per month, though the official average daily wage is 1.27 yen, but those receiving less than 40 yen per month comprise only one percent of the cases investigated.

tion in 1938 are estimated at about 90 million yen. Of course, a part of this outlay would be made if Chinese workers and officials, working as hard and as well as the Japanese (2), were substituted for the latter. The average Chinese worker does not earn more

2. An official source says of the Chinese in the service of the Post Office that they 'have shown themselves as satisfactory postal employees as the Japanese in the same capacity.' (Taiwan, its System of Communications and Transportation. p. 24.)

than 380 yen a year (3), and a Chinese official earns about 600 yen. Thus the same num-

3. Based on the official daily average of 1.27 yen multiplied by 300 (days).

ber of the Chinese would cost only about 36 million yen, or about 54 million yen less than the Japanese. We shall see that this is not the chief item in the list of benefits

which Japan derives from possession of the island (4).

4. The budget investigation conducted in Japan in 1936-37 gives the average monthly income as 90.59 yen per family for 558 families, while that in Taiwan in 1937-38 gives an average 184.56 yen for 355 families. If the groups included are reasonably comparable, as seems probable, the difference between the average earnings of the two groups gives some indication of the net advantage of the Japanese occupied in Taiwan and their 'dividend' in the colonial profits."

4:Grajdanzev--155 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
171

"The budget investigation conducted in Japan in 1936-37 gives the average monthly income as 90.59 yen per family for 558 families, while that in Taiwan in 1937-38 gives an average 184.56 yen for 355 families. If the groups included are reasonably comparable, as seems probable, the difference between the average earnings of the two groups gives some indication of the net advantage of the Japanese occupied in Taiwan and their 'dividend' in the colonial profits."

4:Grajdanzev--158-159 S-1 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 171, 457, 477, 661, 177.43 Japan
636.43

"The usual explanation of Japan's ability to obtain year after year tens of millions of yen worth of goods over and above what is sent from Japan to Taiwan is that this balance represents the interest on Japanese capital invested in Taiwan and the profits of the Japanese businessmen there. But a closer analysis of the figures given above reveals that this explanation is not satisfactory. It is important to understand that we are concerned here with investments and the returns on them, not from the point of view of an individual, but from the point of view of two regions——Taiwan and Japan. From 1896 to 1908. [159] inclusive, Japan sent goods to the value of 31,655,000 yen over and above her imports from the island and this represents her real outlay in the colony. She now receives from Taiwan sums which in every year since 1914 have been greater than this original 31,655,000 yen; which in every year since 1924 have been more than twice as great; and which in every year since 1934 three times as great, and in 1939 were six times as great as the original sum. Is this the legitimate interest on capital and profits of the entrepreneurs which are due to their energy, foresight and managerial ability?

Of course, we know that high profits are made not only in Taiwan, but, say, in the United States as well. Does this fact refute our thesis of exploitation? In no way. The existence of monopolies in the United States is a fact known to all. However, these monopolies are not permanent. Some of them appear, some disappear, every year."

4:Grajdanzev--162-163 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 171, 632, 641, 177.64 Japan
636.64

"The municipal or village councils have from 8 to 40 deputies (according to the population), half of whom are appointed by the government and half elected. The electorate is made up of male Empire subjects who have attained the age of twenty-five years, who are not dependent, who have lived continuously for at least six months in that particular locality and pay at least five yen in municipal or village taxes (house tax, land tax, or business tax). [163]

Thus it is clear that the only places in which there is some semblance of elections are the cities or villages. As has already been pointed out, the small landowners in Taiwan possess chiefly dry land and the majority of them own less than one ko. But the village land tax from one ko of dry land is less than five yen and consequently the majority of owners, as well as all tenants and workers, have no right to vote. We have no data for Taiwan, but the example of Korea shows that by this device two per cent of the population—the Japanese—form the majority of the electorate."

4:Grajdanzev--163 [21 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 171, 625, 659, 871.177.62 Japan
636.62

"Many times on the preceding pages it has been shown that Taiwan is more poorly supplied with this or that commodity than is Japan proper. But in one respect Taiwan is better supplied——with policemen. According to Dainippon teikoku nenkan (Statistical Year Book of the Japanese Empire) for 1937, there was one policeman for every 1,052 persons in Japan proper in 1937, while in Taiwan there was one for every 580 persons. According to the same source there were more policemen than teachers in Taiwan—— 9,972 policemen in 1937 as compared with 9,651 teachers of all kinds in 1936—while in Japan proper the number of teachers was almost six times as large as the number of policemen. The number of policemen in Taiwan is almost three times the number of physicians."

4:Grajdanzev--169-170 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 171, 217, 346, 563

"Let us now consider briefly other cultural institutions in Taiwan. Below we give the data on libraries in Japan and in Taiwan.

Libraries in Japan and in Taiwan, 1936

	Japan	Taiwan
Number of Libraries	4,730	86
Books	12,647,973	369,961
Readers	24,124,344	886,084
Readers per year per capita of population	0.34	0.16

Source: Dainippon teikoku nenkan,

The libraries in Japan are not visited very often—on the average only one out of three persons visits a library once a year—but in Taiwan only one out of six persons finds his way to a library once during the year. There is nothing astonishing [170] in this when we recall that there are only eighty-six libraries for a country with a population of six millions; it means that only the cities, where the Japanese are concentrated, are supplied with them."

4:Grajdanzev--170 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 171, 345

"In Japan there were 32,338 theatres in 1937 and 94,853 cinemas (including temporary ones). In Taiwan there were only 120 theatres and 19 cinemas."

4:Grajdanzev--173-174 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 171, 278, 744, 759

"In the section on education it was shown that Chinese college students from Taiwan prefer to study medicine because this is a profession in which it is relatively easier to establish oneself than in others. Now we see that in spite of this attraction [174] there are two and a half times as many physicians per 10,000 population in Japan as there are in Taiwan. The same is true of midwives, though the need for midwives is greater in Taiwan, where the birth rate is one and a half times as high as in Japan. On the same per capita basis there are four times as many dentists and thirteen times as many pharmacists in Japan as in Taiwan. These and many other figures which could be quoted show that as regards health services Japan is several times better served than Taiwan. And actual conditions are even worse than these figures suggest because the equipment of hospitals is poorer and the physicians rely chiefly on advice and prepared drugs, which are sold by some 6,600 stores as well as 6,700 peddlers."

4:Grajdanzev--174 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 164, 171, 758

"In 1937 about 22 times as many cases of dysentery per 1,000 inhabitants, twice as many cases of typhoid fever, 9 times as many of paratyphoid, 17 times as many of scarlet fever, 3 times as many of diphtheria and 21 times as many cases of insanity were registered in Japan as in Taiwan. But this does not mean that Taiwan is a remarkably healthy place in which to live. There are more cases of epidemic diseases per 1,000 population in Taiwan than in Japan, but they are not registered because the masses of the population cannot afford to pay a physician, far less a hospital. From the official sources we know, for example, that each year out of 100-108 thousand deaths at least 9,000 are due to tuberculosis; probably far more because it is doubtful whether all cases are registered. According to the official estimates the number of tubercular persons is '80-90 thousand', but there are only 150 beds in the tuberculosis hospital for the whole island. Besides tuberculosis the island is ridden by trachoma, intestinal parasites, venereal diseases, leprosy, and malaria. Concerning the first two, official sources say only that they are 'widespread'. As to venereal diseases the chief means of their transmission is licensed and unlicensed prostitution."

10: Schumacher--226 [3] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosans
116, 171, 174, 412

Several of the objects which I brought down from the mountains were thought to be old Chinese things even by some of the Chinese priests. I would not let the Chinese lie to me under any circumstances and asked them for proof of their statements, and they showed me pictures of objects on old temple decorations which showed definite similarity with my originals in spite of the fact that they had been strongly affected by the weather. I am referring to bamboo rakes, a wooden sprinkler which can be used simultaneously on two rows of plants in the field, and a device for lifting a primitive lamp of clay.

Is it not possible that the inhabitants of the mountains have, in the course of time, forgotten the things that keep them from being stamped as completely Chinese in the same manner as they adopted the elements which they have in common with the Chinese? In short, why would it not be possible that these inhabitants of the mountains be Chinese who have emigrated from the Chinese mainland and come to Formosa, where they found a new homeland and settled in the fresh air of the mountains.

15: U.S. Navy--27 [3] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 171, 595

"Marriage customs are generally similar to those prevailing in China. Monogamy is the legal standard and concubinage is discouraged in practice as well as in theory, for few can afford it."